

tasted the bitterness of loss. But Susan always told him, "If you sign up to be a cowboy, you can't complain when you draw a raw, bucking bronco." He couldn't have imagined in those early years that one day he'd be known to America as the Senior Senator from Wyoming. But he was never one to dwell on his achievements. So it falls to us, his friends, to speak well of this good man.

One of the great things about this country is that so many of its leaders come from such surprising places: a candle shop in Boston, a cabin in Kentucky—and a one room-school house in Wapiti, Wyoming. Senator Enzi tells me that The Wapiti School is still standing, but that it's surrounded now by 10-foot fences and a ring of barbed wire—not to keep the kids in, but to keep the grizzlies out. That fence wasn't there when Craig was in school. They were tougher then.

Craig Thomas was always the tough guy—not tough to deal with, not tough on others, just tough. When his family moved to Cody, he signed up for two sports: wrestling and football. One of his teammates on the football team, Al Simpson, was also his neighbor. It may be the only time in American history that two U.S. senators grew up a block and half from each other.

There was a time when it was normal for tough guys to be studious too. And if you went back to Cody in the 1940s, you'd find the son of Craig and Marjorie Thomas as attentive to his football plays as he was to Mrs. Thompson's English lessons. He'd remember and benefit from both many years later during hundreds of legislative battles or on countless nights by the campfire along the North Laramie River, reciting the "Cremation of Sam McGee."

As a young man, Craig would have heard about the days when an unwritten code of honesty, bravery, and chivalry governed daily life in Cody. And he was inspired by stories of another code of bravery that guided young Americans of his own day in exotic places like Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Tarawa, and Guam. World War II cost the Marines nearly 87,000 dead and wounded. But as a young man fresh out of college with his whole life ahead of him, Craig Thomas wanted in. Fifty years later, he still proudly wore the anchor and the globe on his lapel.

He was happiest when he was here, but 18 years ago history called him to Washington and he responded dutifully. It was anything but inevitable. His opponent in the campaign to replace an outgoing congressman who's done pretty well himself over the last 18 years had about 99 percent name recognition and had just lost an election for U.S. Senate by about 1,200 votes. The lowest point in the race was the early polling, which suggested that Craig didn't have a chance. But over the next 40 days, the Marine and his staff pulled it off. Craig set the tone, he led the way, and he let others take the credit. That was his way.

Four days after the election, Craig and Susan packed their bags, headed east, and two days after that Craig was sworn in as a member of the U.S. Congress. It wasn't the easiest transition. As soon as Craig got to Washington, he froze with a sudden realization—he didn't have any suits. So he did what anybody from Wyoming would do. He called Al Simpson, who told him where to find one.

A few months later, he had a similar predicament. He and Susan got an invite to the White House and Craig didn't have a tuxedo. So he told one of his staffers to go to a dry cleaning store up the street and rent one—but not to worry about the shirt. When the staffer came back, she found Craig in his office with a buck knife. He was cutting holes into his cuffs for where the cufflinks would go. Craig just laughed that big laugh of his,

that full body laugh, and then went to the White House with a tuxedo shirt of his own making.

The Gentleman from Wyoming took an office on the top floor of the Longworth Office Building, but he didn't get too comfortable. Some members of the Senate boast about visiting every county in their state over the course of a year. Craig visited all 23 counties in Wyoming—the ninth largest state in America in just two weeks during that first August recess. He enjoyed every minute of it: driving west from Casper, looking out at the Wind River Range, and thinking about what an honor it was to serve this big, beautiful place he loved.

This was his home, and he loved it. He loved the land, he loved the people. But anyone who knew him knew what his greatest love was.

Craig met Susan in 1978. She was working on a statewide campaign, he was working for the state Republican Party, and she invited him over to talk about the race. When she looked out the window and saw a man riding toward her office on his bicycle, she turned to the woman next to her and said, "Now who would that be?" She soon found out, and thanks to her loving support, so did the rest of the country. Everything they did, they did together. She was with him for every race he won. Craig always said Susan was the one who liked campaigning.

They were like children, but they were deadly serious about their work. Craig viewed politics as a high calling, and he viewed Susan's work the same way. He admired her deeply. He never failed to mention her. I remember my wife Elaine telling me after giving the commencement speech one year at Susan's high school, how devoted to her the students there were.

We honor Susan today for her devotion to Craig. We'll miss seeing her outside the Senate chamber waiting for him to finish up his votes. The Senate's a lonelier, less joyful place without Craig. It's already a lonelier, less joyful place without her too.

The people of Wyoming sent Craig to the Senate in 1994, and those of us who've served with him there are grateful they did. It was the first time since 1906 that every statewide office in Wyoming was held by a Republican, and the credit, of course, goes to Craig. He led the ticket, and he worked tirelessly to bring everyone else along with him.

But again, he didn't take the credit. And the victory and the higher office did nothing to change the man. If there was any chance of that, Susan made sure to nip it in the bud. She made him hang a photo of himself falling off a horse. She knew the Scripture that "pride cometh before a fall" But Craig knew it too, and he wouldn't disappoint. He was a simple, humble son of Wyoming and he remained one to the end.

He was always eager to get home. So eager, in fact, that one time when his Mustang broke down on the way to the airport, he left it on the side of the highway and hitchhiked the rest of the way. They let him on the plane to Cheyenne without a ticket or anything. He called his staff from the airport to see if someone could get the car. When they found it, the keys were still in the ignition. They sent his clothes on the next plane.

We'll never forget his toughness, his goodness, his humor, his steady reassuring hand. Nor his kindness, which he always showed toward everyone—from presidents to doormen. He was straightforward and honest. In a phrase that Craig might have recalled from Mrs. Thompson's Shakespeare lessons, he was not a man "to double business bound." His only business was his duty—to God, country, family, and friends. And he fulfilled them beautifully.

He was strong, humble, and full of faith. And here is why. As a boy Craig Thomas

looked out at the majesty of the canyons and the falls of Yellowstone and knew there is a God. As a teenager he saw the hard work and dedication of his parents and learned that giving is more admirable than taking. And as a man he could hear the rumble of the herd even from his desk in Washington, and know that the movements of men were nothing compared to the power of the wild.

I am not a cowboy. But I've come to know and admire a few of them in my 22 years in the Senate. And I've come to know a little bit about their pastimes. I've heard that holding down a steer takes two kinds of ropers—a header and a heeler, and that there's an old saying that the header may be the quarterback, but that the heeler makes the money. The idea is that there may be more glory in roping the head, but that the heeler has the harder, more important, and less glamorous job. No one who knew Craig Thomas is surprised to know that he preferred to be a heeler.

The most impressive thing in Washington is also the rarest: and that's a man whose position and power has no effect on the person he was when he got there. I've never met a man who was changed less by what the world calls riches or power than Craig Lyle Thomas.

Now this great American life has come to an end. Yet we know it continues: This husband, father, lawmaker, mentor, and friend goes to the Father's house. We take comfort entrusting him to the Lord of Mercy, who tells us that in the life to come, every question will be answered, every tear wiped away. And we are confident in the hope that he will ride again, healthy and strong, along a wider, more majestic plain in a land that's everlasting.

## HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

TECHNICAL SERGEANT RYAN A. BALMER

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I rise today with a heavy heart and deep sense of gratitude to honor the life of a brave airman from Mishawaka. Ryan Balmer, 33 years old, was killed on June 5 while deployed near Kirkuk, Iraq, when an improvised explosive device struck his vehicle. With an optimistic future before him, Ryan risked everything to fight for the values Americans hold close to our hearts, in a land halfway around the world.

Ryan has served in the Air Force since enlisting shortly after graduating Mishawaka High School in 1993. He was extremely proud of his military service and was nearing the end of his 6-month tour in Iraq when he was killed by the improvised explosive device. In addition to his military service, Ryan, the youngest of nine children, was the devoted husband of Danielle Balmer and the father of two sons and one daughter.

Ryan was killed while serving his country in Operation Iraqi Freedom. He was assigned to Detachment 113, 1st Field Investigations Region, stationed at Hill Air Force Base, UT. A good high school friend of Ryan's, Dave Falkenau, told local media that, "[Ryan] would go out of his way for anyone; I wouldn't be surprised if he died trying to save someone else from dying."

Today, I join Ryan's family and friends in mourning his death. While

we struggle to bear our sorrow over this loss, we can also take pride in the example he set, bravely fighting to make the world a safer place. It is his courage and strength of character that people will remember when they think of Ryan, a memory that will burn brightly during these continuing days of conflict and grief.

Ryan was known for his dedication to his family and his love of country. Today and always, Ryan will be remembered by family members, friends, and fellow Hoosiers as a true American hero, and we honor the sacrifice he made while dutifully serving his country.

As I search for words to do justice in honoring Ryan's sacrifice, I am reminded of President Lincoln's remarks as he addressed the families of the fallen soldiers in Gettysburg: "We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." This statement is just as true today as it was nearly 150 years ago, as I am certain that the impact of Ryan's actions will live on far longer than any record of these words.

It is my sad duty to enter the name of Ryan A. Balmer in the official record of the Senate for his service to this country and for his profound commitment to freedom, democracy, and peace. When I think about this just cause in which we are engaged and the unfortunate pain that comes with the loss of our heroes, I hope that families like Ryan's can find comfort in the words of the prophet Isaiah who said, "He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."

May God grant strength and peace to those who mourn, and may God be with all of you, as I know He is with Ryan.

#### IMMIGRATION REFORM

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, over the last few weeks, the Senate has considered an issue that inspires strong feelings all around—the need for immigration reform. While the bill we were considering has many flaws, I am disappointed that some Members of this body decided to talk it to death. I voted to move this bill forward because Congress should act on this issue, and because I am hopeful that the bill's flaws can be cured during the next stages of the legislative process.

Despite our differences in approach, all of us in this Chamber agree on three core principles that form the bedrock of any comprehensive immigration reform. First, we must do something about the estimated 12 million undocumented immigrants who live and work in the shadows. The status quo is simply unacceptable. It harms citizens and noncitizens alike and makes us less

safe as a nation. Second, we must take the necessary steps to prevent illegal immigration in the future so that we do not find ourselves back here in the same position 20 years from now. And, third, we must establish a system that allows people who can make valuable contributions to our society—by, for example, strengthening families or performing jobs that cannot be filled by Americans—to enter the country legally. These goals must be accomplished in a way that is consistent with our values as a nation. The fundamental problem with this bill, as it now stands, is that it fails to accomplish these objectives; in fact, it contains several provisions that go directly against these objectives.

With respect to the 12 million undocumented immigrants, the bill held genuine promise when it came to the floor. As both the President and the Secretary of Homeland Security have said, mass deportation is not a viable option, nor is amnesty for those who have broken the law. As introduced on the Senate floor, this legislation would have required those who are here illegally to come forward, pay hefty fines, pay taxes, learn English and civics, work, and wait in the back of the line—before earning the privilege of permanent resident status. That would have been a workable solution.

Unfortunately, this linchpin of the bill was undercut by the Senate's adoption of an amendment offered by Senator CORNYN. The amendment removed critical confidentiality provisions that would have protected applicants for legalization from being deported if their applications were denied. The problem with this approach is that few undocumented immigrants will even apply for legalization without this protection. They will stay in the shadows, and we will be exactly where we are now. If this bill ultimately moves forward, it is vitally important that these confidentiality provisions be included in the House bill and retained in conference; otherwise, the bill will defeat its own main purpose.

I also hope to see progress on other provisions that threaten to undermine the very purpose of the earned legalization program. I am particularly concerned about requiring undocumented immigrants to leave the United States in order to apply for permanent residence. Although the bill guarantees their reentry, this "touch-back" requirement creates a major practical obstacle for many immigrants, especially those who come from far-flung regions of the globe. Moreover, many undocumented immigrants—who may be receiving their information about the legislation from unreliable sources, or who may face language barriers in understanding its provisions—will be unwilling to leave the U.S. for fear that they will not be allowed to return. Again, a bill that creates a legalization program but discourages immigrants from applying for legalization gets us nowhere.

Another vital component of comprehensive immigration reform is a system that allows employers to turn to foreign labor as a last resort when they genuinely cannot find American workers to do the job. Permitting these workers to enter the country legally furthers the second core principle of comprehensive reform: avoiding a future flow of undocumented workers who would otherwise create a new underground economy. Unlike the bill we passed last year, however, the bill the Senate considered this year has no meaningful path to permanent residence for immigrants in the temporary worker program. It requires workers in that program to interrupt their employment every 2 years and leave the U.S. for a period of 1 year, and it prohibits most of these workers from bringing their families to the U.S. Taken together, these provisions are a recipe for a massive new flow of illegal immigration—once again defeating the very purpose the program was meant to serve.

I am also concerned that the temporary worker program contains insufficient protections for U.S. and foreign workers. I was pleased at the success of the Durbin-Grassley amendment, which strengthened the bill's requirement that employers recruit and hire U.S. workers before hiring temporary foreign workers. But that protection is simply not sufficient. The single best mechanism for enforcement of labor protections is a path to permanent residence. Knowing that foreign workers cannot simply be used up and thrown away prevents employers from exploiting them. That, in turn, takes away the incentive to hire foreign workers over U.S. citizens and ensures that working conditions for all workers don't sink to a lowest common denominator. It is a critical protection that is lacking from this bill.

Because I believe the temporary worker program as currently drafted will foster illegal immigration and will not sufficiently protect U.S. and foreign workers, I voted for Senator BINGAMAN's amendment to limit the scope of the program and Senator DORGAN's amendment to sunset the program in 5 years. Unless and until the structural problems with the program are fixed—and I hope they will be—we should not be putting in place a permanent program of the magnitude contemplated by the original bill.

Another serious flaw in the bill is its inclusion of multiple "triggers"—enforcement requirements that must be fulfilled before other critical reforms could begin. While these provisions are designed to further the second core goal of immigration reform—preventing a future flow of illegal immigration—they will have exactly the opposite effect. History tells us that an "enforcement-only" approach simply doesn't work: the probability of catching an illegal immigrant has fallen over the past two decades from 33 percent to 5 percent, despite the fact that